The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.
TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1386

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GDR-USSR COOPERATION IN HEALTH SECTOR DESCRIBED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 18 Mar 77 p 2

[Interview with Prof Dr Konstantin Spies, GDR deputy minister of health: "Growing Cooperation Between the GDR and the USSR in the Area of Medical Science"]

[Text] [Question] The Eighth Conference of the Permanent Working Group of the Ministries of Health of the GDR and of the USSR took place in February. It evaluated the results of the work to date and decided on the tasks for 1977. How does the balance look?

[Answer] Positive. The effectiveness of our cooperation--and this is reflected also in the joint reports--has increased significantly. Our joint obligation is to enhance it further, to expand it, and to make the knowledge gained useful for the good of mankind as soon as possible. The consultations took place quite in the spirit of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. Its victory also made possible the development of a socialist health care system, the achievements of which are of benefit to all. The cooperation of our two countries in this field and in medical science is determined by the social changes introduced by the Red October.

[Question] Which results of the cooperation achieved in 1976 were especially stressed?

[Answer] It was possible to publish over 50 joint works, more than 40 joint lectures, and 2 joint monographs. The joint research of such problems as the regulation and influencing of heart blood circulation and the clarification of the causes for high blood pressure made good progress. Clinical researches of the stage-by-stage rehabilitation after a heart attack produced noteworthy results. It reduces complications and shortens the duration of the illness. As a rule the patient is able to resume his former professional activity. The close cooperation of the GDR and the USSR in cancer research became a solid part of a CEMA agreement. Joint scientific meetings and publication of joint research results like the catalog of carcinogenic substances which appeared in 1976 might be mentioned,
The increasingly close cooperation in medical technology also belongs here. The four-channel automatic analytical device for clinical-chemical laboratory diagnosis developed by technicians and engineers of both countries is now being clinically tested in the GDR and in the Soviet Union on the basis of coordinated programs.

[Question] Apart from these important special problems, does the cooperation also apply to comprehensive questions of health protection?

[Answer] In these as in other fields it is always important to develop prophylactic substances and methods, promote healthy life in this sense, and thereby influence the environment. The fight against cancer in the GDR put into practice according to Soviet experience. New forms of organization for rapid medical assistance have been introduced. In the field of labor medicine it was possible to develop further labor hygiene standards and to put them into effect in both countries. For the labor medical care of foundry workers scientists of both countries created unified scientific principles. This is of direct benefit to workers active in difficult conditions.

For protection against infection progress was made in the further research of influenza and unified methods were created to study the occurrence of influenza and other viruses. There are also unified concepts for the evaluation of vaccines. As a result of our cooperation it was possible to put into practice for the first time the highly effective cell culture vaccine against rabies developed in the Soviet Union.

The cooperation of our countries in the research of the medical aspects of environmental protection is organically included in the pertinent comprehensive CEMA program. In this connection there has already appeared in the third edition a collection in one volume entitled "Unit Methods for the Determination of Air Pollution" with methods of determination worked out by both countries. Similar studies are coming up dealing with microbial pollution of the soil and bodies of water.

In the field of scientific information our two countries are working together to organize the international information system MEDINFORM of the CEMA. This includes, for example, the development of a comprehensive supplementary work with unified medical concepts, and now unified specialized terms in the field of social hygiene have been published.

[Question] What is contemplated for 1977 and Beyond?

[Answer] On the basis of long-range coordinated scientific cooperation the theoretical level of the joint work is to be raised and prognostication work further developed in order to be able to develop joint procedure in medical research by 1990 in the main directions of our cooperation. It is also a question of jointly using the possibilities of each country more effectively than heretofore.
In this sense it was agreed, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, to hold a "Week of Soviet Medicine" in the GDR from 5 to 10 December 1977. In addition joint scientific conferences in the field of heart and circulatory diseases, cancer research, and labor medicine are taking place this year.

The measures provided in the plan of the permanent working group are to contribute to a more rapid transfer of research results into health care practice, particularly in the fields of emergency medical assistance, cardiology, the organization of the hygiene service and the fight against infectious diseases. The last conference of the permanent working group in February devoted particular attention to them especially. This group decided to cooperate even more closely than before in influenza research and treatment. In the future joint research groups will investigate the causes of the occurrence of influenza in coordinated laboratories.

Finally our two countries are collaborating closely in the education and further training of medical cadres and in the field of the economics of health care. Here also additional agreements have been made. These are only a few examples to show that our already traditional cooperation in health care and medical science is yearly becoming more concrete and effective.
BRIEFS

MEETING ON ACCIDENT PREVENTION—On 20 April, in Tirana, an aktiv was organized on the subject of the prevention of accidents and the assuring of the technical preparedness of vehicles, with the participation of workers in the ministries, the mass organizations, and the executive committees of the district peoples councils, workers in the highway traffic control and vehicle utilization sectors, workers in transportation enterprises, cadres in military units, volunteer highway traffic inspectors and outstanding drivers. Adil Carcani, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Kadri Hazbiu, minister of internal affairs, Luan Babameto, minister of communications, Spiro Lengo, deputy minister of agriculture, and other comrades also took part in the aktiv. Deputy minister of internal affairs, Raqi Iftica, gave the report on the strengthening of work for accident prevention and for assuring the high technical preparedness of vehicles in operation. The participants discussed the report. Comrade Adil Carcani also spoke at the aktiv. [Text] /Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Apr 77 p 1/
The apprentice youth constitutes tomorrow's shift of the working class. Many of today's apprentices will become members of the People's Militia. We were therefore interested in how the People's Militia worked with them, how they caught their interest and how they prepared them for their future responsible and challenging tasks.

"We realized particularly after the 15th CPCZ Congress and elaboration of its resolutions that we had achieved rather poor results so far in our work with the apprentice youth," the comrades at the general staff of LM [People's Militia] told us. The best results were achieved and the work is perhaps easiest with those youngest, the Pioneers. Here excellent results were achieved. It is not enough, however, to work only with the members of the PO [Pioneer Organizations] of the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth]. It is necessary to go further, to work on a larger scale. For this reason, one of the tasks for this period is to continue in work with children, with the PO of the SSM, but at the same time to pay attention to work with the adolescents—that is, the students in higher grades of the basic school and the apprentice youth. At the present time, the HS [general staff] of the LM is working on the film which is addressed precisely to the adolescent youth.

The work with the apprentice youth, however, is by no means easy. It involves primarily political education, education in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The formation of the socialist man, however, cannot be the task of the People's Militia alone. In this respect, the LM must cooperate with others—the school, party organizations in the SSM, ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] and other organs and organizations.

We called on the city staff of the People's Militia in Prague in order to find out about the situation in the work with the youth in our capital.
"Cooperation with the Pioneer organization is excellent," we were told by Comrade Ladislav Tichy, chief of staff. "There are patronage contracts in every district. We have a school in Prague 9 which is called the People's Militia ZDS [Basic Nine-Year School]. Our cooperation with the Avia Letnany plant and Pioneer organization is good. Our work in Prague 6, Prague 5 and other districts is good, too. The members of the LM units in Prague 7, for example, organized 23 discussions on the anniversary of February [1948] last year, 3 big defense games with the youth, 16 actions in the Pioneer camps."

We glance through the letters expressing thanks which have been received by the LM staff. We shall quote at least from one of them in which the SSM City Committee expressed thanks "on behalf of 70,000 Prague Pioneers and Pioneer workers for the LM assistance in the defense game "Operation Brdy 1976." In accordance with the report submitted by the CPCZ Central Committee at the 15th CPCZ Congress, we tried to prepare a game which would be close and attractive to children. If we succeeded in this and 'Operation Brdy 1976' became an important political action in the defense preparedness, our thanks belong to you and your comrades." The letter was signed by Zdenek Jakubec, chairman of the City Committee of the PO SSM in Prague. The militia men participate today and every day in preparing various campaigns and do not wait for thanks. But to be quite frank, one is always pleased with a letter like this. After all, all these actions are undertaken largely in free time, at the time of individual leisure.

We ultimately selected "the ninth district" from the 10 districts in Prague. "We have instructed the unit at the CKD [Ceskomoravska-Kolben Danek] Prague to establish really informal cooperation with the apprentice plant," Comrade Kudrna, chief of the LM OS [okres staff] told us. "It established more solid contacts at the camp for defense training of the apprentice plant last year. The unit in the repair shop at Kbely on its own initiative concentrates on the apprentice youth in its plant. These are perhaps the best examples of work with the apprentice youth. We are just getting it started. As to the cooperation of our units with the Pioneers, the situation is much better."

We reflected upon the words uttered by the members of the People's Militia staff. The work with the adolescent youth is much more challenging because it requires a much more thorough preparation and more sensitive approach. Where to make the beginning, where is the good experience to be drawn upon? The fundamental knowledge of every LM member must include not only the handling of the respective weapon, but also other things— the knowledge of topography for example. Like the soldier in our People's Army, the LM member must know the fundamentals of topography, must be able to orient himself on the map, must be physically fit, have a strong will and be able to run. This list could be extended, but the final list would be similar to that which registers the required knowledge and skills of an apprentice who is member of a tourist division. It is precisely through the tourist, defense or sports units that the way to the adolescent youth can be found. It is
necessary to establish contact with the leaders of the hobby circles, with
the physical education instructors in the training centers and hostels.
They on the other hand, should not forget that they can turn for help to the
People's Militia unit in their plant. The goal of the communist education
is common to all—to educate the builders and defenders of the socialist
fatherland.

To locate an example of such cooperation we went to the vocational training
center of the STS [State Tractor Station] at Blatna. Comrade Miloslav Mraz,
deputy director of the OU [Vocational School] is an LM member. He told us
about the patronage of the People's Militia unit from the local plants.
The militia men help with the organization of shooting competitions, make
available their rifle range for this purpose and take care of the apprentices'
transportation. They demonstrate combat techniques to the youth, participate
in most actions including the presentation of new SSM membership cards, take
part in the discussions which take place particularly in connection with the
February celebrations. The party organization in the vocational school and
particularly Comrade Novak, chairman of the CPCZ ZO [basic organization],
promote this close cooperation.

Comrades from the STS OU in Blatna mentioned a concrete example of the good
influence and work of the members of the patronage LM unit. "We signed with
the LM a contract on the assistance in shooting practice of our apprentices.
The militia men took care of the apprentices' transportation to the rifle
range, they rode with us. Unfortunately, the comrades were dressed in their
civilian suits. We therefore asked them to put on the uniform because they
wear it when they go by themselves to the shooting range. The comrades
complied and I can say that the boys accepted the commands from the LM members
in a completely different way, because the man in uniform was "somebody" to
them. In 2 or 3 years the boys will be doing their military service and
they are starting to get acquainted with the military problems. I think that
they never reacted unfavorably to the fact that the members of the People's
Militia go with us. Rather the opposite was the case. Comrades Kudej,
Stanek and Masek cooperate with us regularly."

Our People's Militia thus faces the task of intensifying its work with the
apprentice youth. Although the task is not easy, it can be carried out. By
referring to the example from Blatna we wanted to prove that with mutual
cooperation of the People's Militia and school, with full understanding on
the part of school management and with the guidance of the party organization
in the first place, good results can be achieved. In conclusion let us recall
the words of Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central
Committee, which he used in the Central Committee report submitted to the
15th CPCZ Congress:

"We must prepare the young man thoroughly, we must not idealize life to
him. He must be led to a creative activity and respect for work and taught
how to overcome the obstacles.... The work with the youth does not tolerate
a stereotyped, formal approach, false moralizing.... It requires patience
and sensitivity, the ability to come closer to the young man. Our system creates great possibilities for the employment of the youth, for the development of its abilities and skills. The youth therefore must be led to realize its place in the socialist society and its tasks. We must keep in mind that the education and forming of the young generation will take place under the conditions of a fierce class struggle also in the future in the world whose part is the battle for the people's minds. The reactionary forces try to inject false values in the youth's consciousness, to divert it from the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of the world, to disorient it by illusions and dubious models. All the greater becomes the responsibility of parents, teachers, foremen, artists, newspapermen and of all those who exercise influence on our youth."
KEMPNY OPENS SPA COMPLEX IN KARLOVY VARY

Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 27 Apr 77 LD

[Text] Karlovy Vary, West Bohemia, 27 Apr, CETEKA—The 25 years of Czecho-
slovak united health care is an example of the genuine humanitarianism of
the Czechoslovak Socialist Society, Presidium member and secretary of the
Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Josef Kempny stated
here today.

Speaking at a meeting held in conjunction with the inauguration of the cul-
tural facilities of a new spa complex "thermal" here, Josef Kempny praised
the fact that the sanatorium will already serve 6,500 patients this year.

"[word indistinct] by the communist party and the socialist state is yield-
ing gratifying results," he said, adding that "The health state of the
population has changed qualitatively and the average life-time has been
prolonged substantially. In just 30 years, mortality due to formerly wide-
spread diseases such as tuberculosis has decreased 27 times. We are one
of the countries with the lowest infant and suckling mortality and our
advanced system of care for mothers and children is generally recognized.
Not a single one of the most powerful capitalist states can be compared
with us in this respect."

The total spendings on health care in 1971-75 increased by 2.5 times faster
than the average monthly wage. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic spent
in 1976 4,763 million crowns on sickness benefits, which enable the working
people and their families to maintain their living standard also during
sickness, he added.

The Socialist Health Service also brought a new stage in the development
of spa treatment, which recorded tremendous growth especially after the
15th Congress of the Communist Party in April 1976. All this made it
possible for 180,000 more patients to be treated in spas in the Czech
lands than in the 1971-75 plan period, Josef Kempny said.
CPCZ'S KAPEK ATTENDS FILM PREMIERE IN PRAGUE

Prague CTK in English 2135 GMT 27 Apr 77 LD

[Text] Prague, 27 Apr, CETEKA--The forthcoming 32nd anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army was marked here today by the premiere of director Otakar Vavra's film "The Liberation of Prague."

The premiere was attended by Antonin Kapek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Czech minister of culture Milan Klusak, and other official guests.

Antonin Kapek thanked the makers for the grand film showing the events of May 1945, and recalled that the Red Army liberated Prague on 9 May 1945. "This day is also a historical milestone, as the Czech and Slovak nations entered the most wonderful era of their history, an era of real national freedom and independence, an era of free work of the popular masses, the era of the construction of socialism."

The head of the Soviet delegation, deputy chief dramaturgist of Mosfilm Nina Glagolyeva, conveyed greetings from workers of the Soviet cinematography.

The artistic documentary "The Liberation of Prague" completes the trilogy, the first two parts of which were "The Days of Betrayal" and "Sokolovo."

CSO: 2020
NVA MOTORCYCLES DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 4, Apr 77 pp 212-215

[Article by Lt Col Hasso Erb: "The Motorcycle Equipment of the NVA"]

[Text] From the beginning the weapons and equipment of the NVA [National People's Army] and Border Troops of the GDR have been determined by the Soviet Union by virtue of its position as the leading power of the East bloc. This applies to the motorcycle as well.

As early as 1907 tsarist Russia established its first company with Belgian FN motorcycles. But for a long time motorcycles had no great military significance in this spacious country of few roads because they could not be built robustly enough and suitable for cross-country travel. The Soviets first became acquainted with the military motorcycle as a light simple machine and a heavy machine with sidecar through the German army [Wehrmacht] in the last war. Until the end of World War II there was no significant motorcycle production in the Soviet Union. But the military use of the motorcycle as employed by the Wehrmacht must have given the Soviets an idea. At any rate, they began producing their own designs which were simply copied from the many German motorcycles left in Russia.

To the Soviets the most lucrative military and civilian motorcycle seemed to be the BMW R-61 and R-71 models of 1938. These machines with their 600cc 18 hp and 750cc 22hp twin cylinder motors, stable double tube frames and front and rear wheel telescoping suspension were used by the Wehrmacht almost exclusively as sidecar machines. This resulted in the first Soviet produced machine in 1945, the M-72 which was a "heavy motorcycle with sidecar." This model continued to be improved and became first the M-66 model which, under the designation Ural-3 was the first to be offered on the civilian world market (see issue 1/71, p. 35) and then, in 1975, was again improved by the follow-on "Dnepr" model (see our report in issue 4/76, p. 183). The Soviets have supposedly produced over 600,000 of the M-72 and its follow-on models. After the last war the Soviets equipped all allied armed forces, including the NVA and Border Troops of the GDR, with the M-72 and sidecar.
Motorcycles have always been regarded as the vehicle of the little man. This has been carried over—perhaps unconsciously—to the military sector. Whereas the "rich" Americans after 1945 created the jeep as a light messenger, courier and command vehicle in the military arena of the West, the simpler and cheaper sidecar motorcycle played this role in the East, which was industrially less developed and more severely hit by wartime destruction. And it is astounding to note that this psychologically associated and economic-military situation from the first years after the last war still pertains today after more than three decades. The motorcycle and side car as the simplest, lightest and cheapest military vehicle never made a comeback in the West but in the East it is flourishing as never before. It remains to be seen if, given the hard demands on modern armament, the West will again turn to the motorcycle and sidecar as the cheapest military vehicle. It is a fact, however, that with the comeback of the motorcycle in the civilian sector of the West, an entire series of heavy motorcycles having sufficient power for sidecar operation have arisen which lack only a sufficiently strong frame to support the traction pull and pressure of a sidecar and a strong front wheel fork. In the West German civilian sector alone a number of interesting sidecar and motorcycle designs have appeared.

General economic development in the East made the motorcycle increasingly a vehicle for individual transportation. The motorcycle industries of the East made this trend possible with an increasing number of 1/8-, 1/4- and 1/3-liter models. At the same time there was a general transition to the automobile in the West but 15 years later the motorcycle came back as a seemingly ideal individual, leisure and sport machine with, however, fantastically performing designs with engines of over 1 liter displacement, nearly 100 hp and five-digit prices. The motorcycle has thus not returned to its earlier status of a mass vehicle in the West but it has, at any rate, again "arrived" for a certain circle of younger people. In both East and West this history of motorcycle development has not been without its effect on military motorcycles.

Following and parallel to Soviet M-72 motorcycles delivered for military service, the Warsaw Pact countries produced, in their gradually rebuilt motorcycle industries, light motorcycles which had, in part, outstanding performance and which they promptly put into military service. The original consumer models were soon turned into outstanding cross-country models which were made the basis for new military machines. Examples of this development are the Czechoslovak Jawa machines and the MZ (formerly the DKW [German Motor Vehicle Plant] in Zschopau) machines from the GDR. There is no question that the individual Warsaw Pact states with national motorcycle production have placed outstanding vehicles at the disposal of their armed forces in the form of military models based on their success and experience in international cross-country motorcycle sport. From this historical development came the individual models of military motorcycles, now to be described in detail, for the NVA and Border Troops of the GDR.
M-72

For the sake of completeness we should first return to the Soviet M-72 (Figures 1 and 4) [not reproduced]. This vehicle weighed 350 kg and could be loaded with 350 kg, was 2.42 meters long, 1.6 meters wide, 98 cm high and had a ground clearance of 13 cm. The 746cc twin cylinder, four cycle, Otto boxer engine delivered 22 hp at 4,800 rpm and gave the vehicle a top speed of 85 km/hr and a range of 465 km. This is virtually the same performance as the BMW R-71 of 1938.

The rear seat was slightly raised, the all metal sidecar had a light machinegun mount and a spare tire on the cargo compartment hatch. The gas tank held 22 liters with another 20 liters in a can carried on the vehicle. The M-72 loaded with three men, luggage, weapons and ammunition could be quickly and cheaply manufactured, was stable because of the sidecar, could be easily freed from obstacles by its three-man crew, required only low operating and maintenance costs and could be operated in practically any weather and terrain. The M-72s were delivered to the NVA beginning in 1956 and they were operated until the end of the 1950's. They are probably still being used today. They were used, in accordance with the Soviet model, mostly in reconnaissance units but also in motorized rifle units. Whereas in reconnaissance they, as in the Soviet army, usually accompanied armored reconnaissance detachments, they were also, as Figure 4 shows, used as company and platoon commander vehicles in the first motorized rifle units and, moreover, very widely used as messenger, courier and liaison vehicles.

MZ-ES-250/A

From 1959 to 1963 the M-72 was replaced in most of its missions by the Zschopau Motorcycle Plant's ES-250/A (Figure 5) [not reproduced], a product of a GDR plant. In contrast to the M-72, the ES-250/A was a straight medium one-man machine but attempts limited in number and time were made to equip it with a light sidecar and this will be covered later.

The 250/A had an empty weight of 162 kg and an almost equally great payload of 158 kg. It thus was far from meeting the military dream goal of a 2-cwt machine. It was 2 meters long, 71 cm wide, 95 cm high and the ground clearance was only 11 cm. The single cylinder twin cycle 250cc Otto engine developed 14.5 hp at 5,000 rpm and, with a 15-liter gas tank, gave the machine a range of 320 kilometers and a top speed of 95 km/hr. This engine and vehicle performance data showed that the 250/A was a good solid trotter and not a highbred, highstrung racer. Being a single-track vehicle, the machine was, of course, considerably lighter and with a stronger suspension, smaller and handier than the clumsy M-72. The 250/A, however, could not meet the transportation capacity of the M-72 and thus it could not accomplish all the missions performed by the M-72. It was used as a messenger machine, as a courier machine with its separate pillion and as a machine for regulators [Regulierer]. The latter term comes from Soviet
military speech and corresponds to the soldiers we use for march escort, directing, road reconnaissance and traffic monitoring and control. The 250/A could be easily recognized by an almost rectangular headlight which was in a fixed mount on the steering column and thus did not "track" in a curve (this model can be seen in Figure 5 along with the "regulators"). The reasoning behind this arrangement is not clear. This headlight arrangement was dropped with the next model.

MZ-ES 250/1/A

From 1961 on the NVA began replacing the 250/A with the improved 250/1/A (Figures 2 and 7) [not reproduced]. The changes as compared with the 250/A were, however, relatively minor. Engine performance of the 1/A was increased from 14.5 to 16 hp and empty weight decreased by 9 kg which increased load capacity.

MZ-ES 250/2/A

In 1968 the ES-250/2/A was developed. The performance of the engine was increased to 17.5 hp and the gas tank increased by 1 liter to 16 liters, thus increasing range from 300 to 390 kilometers. Empty weight of the 2/A was decreased by only 3 kg. It was easily recognized by its rectangular headlight.

With the 250 machines some generally interesting experiments were made for a vehicle to answer the question of reintroducing sidecar machines in the military. In a number of these light but well conceived sidecars were tried. The entire upper portion of the all metal sidecar could be folded forward (Figure 6) [not reproduced] which considerably facilitated getting in and out. The rear part of the sidecar was configured as a luggage compartment. Equipment or loads could be strapped on the lid of this compartment. This sidecar was also given mounts for a transportable radio.

Despite the advantages of such a sidecar concept and a light sidecar of this design, the NVA nevertheless abandoned these experiments. This was probably not due to the engines but rather to the too weak frames and front forks of the 250s. The lateral traction and pressure demands which a sidecar places on a motorcycle are known from experience to be considerable, particularly in cross-country operation and rough military service. The MZ 250 series were simply not equal to them.

MZ-TS-250/A

Since 1973 the NVA has been withdrawing all earlier motorcycle models from service and replacing them in sequence with the newest Zschopau model, the TS-250/A (Figures 3 and 8) [not reproduced]. This machine, which is shown ready for field service in Figure 3, has an empty weight of 168 kg and can transport 177 kg. It is thus somewhat heavier than previous models but can transport more. It is 2.05 meters long, 86 cm wide, 1.22 meters high,
has a ground clearance of 13 cm, has an elastically mounted 244cc single cylinder twin cycle Otto engine with 19 hp output at 5,500 rpm, carries 17.5 liters of 50:1 gas in a tank and 10 liters in a can strapped to the right rear, this giving the machine a range of 550 km with one fueling, and has a top speed of 109 km/hr.

The TS can be recognized and differs from predecessor models by having a two strut front fender, long bellowslike rubber sleeves on the telescope fork, four large turn signal lights on the sides of the headlight and taillight, a collapsible entrenching tool on the left rear side of the large side-mounted pack saddle and a large bulky tank with very large rubber sidepads. Every detail on this machine, including the stable parallel tube frame in particular, has been tested in major cross-country competitions.

Evaluation

The reader will have noted that none of the NVA motorcycles from the Soviet M-72 to the TS-250/A is a special cross-country machine. Is this due to thriftiness, a lack of armaments industry capability or the conviction that, in the central European geographic area, such special cross-country machines are either not necessary or their increased cost can be saved without great disadvantages even when operating off the road or track in a well-drained cultivated landscape?

The civilian versions of the MZ (Zschopau Motorcycle Plant) machines mentioned have been available for purchase for some years from a large West German mail order house. The MZ military versions differ only slightly in details, accessories, equipment and, of course, paint. They are not special cross-country machines but they are based overall on the extremely successful MZ-GS. All MZ machines in particular have the tested and practically maintenance-free enclosure of the rear wheel chain. Until the last war it was also customary to select military machines from civilian mass production and to qualify them for their military missions with more or less many changes. Every Wehrmacht sidecar motorcycle could be purchased commercially. To this degree the GDR practice is nothing new. In World War II this also had advantages in logistics and maintenance. The civilian version of the TS-250 costs DM 2,490 here and anyone who drives this machine recognizes its equivalent in performance capability and simple and robust construction. Because of the ground clearance of 13 cm alone it is not a cross-country machine but who can make full use of a cross-country machine? The TS-250 is, in any case, simple, robust, high in performance, cheap and cost effective and this must be sufficient for its missions. Does this come from NVA considerations and can one see here something of the simple robustness in the military equipment and pragmatic considerations of the Soviets in this regard? Or is the motorcycle also beginning to be underestimated in the NVA?

In all recently developed war scenarios the role and significance of the motorcycle as the most extensive and therefore most effective, among ever
more complicated military equipment, means for transmitting reports and orders and for the transport of couriers and documents of all types is increasing. The one-man motorcycle—particularly in a motorcycle team of two to three machines—is, as a light, small and maneuverable single-track vehicle for any time of day or season, in any terrain, in a destroyed cultivated and industrial landscape and given destroyed lines of communications and lack of flight conditions, the liaison and reconnaissance means which can be ready the earliest. In issue 3/76 of the GDR newspaper VOLKSARMEE NVA Lt Col Kopenhagen wrote: "Although the international tendency to employ motorcycles for military purposes is retrograde, no other motor vehicle is so maneuverable, independent of roads, economical, less demanding in maintenance and cheap in procurement as the motorcycle. It may therefore be assumed that it will be a reliable army vehicle in the future as well."
CONSTRUCTION LABOR UNION RENDERS 5-YEAR REVIEW

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 6, Mar 77 pp 13-14

[Text] A few weeks before the seventh conference of central delegates of the Industrie-Gewerkschaft (IG) Bau-Holz [Industrial Labor Union Construction Wood], to be held in April, the central administration of the union submitted to its members a report of the work done over the past 5 years. This 5-year review was published in an appendix to the union organ DER BAU. To the IG Bau-Holz belong the employees of the construction industry, the construction materials industry, and the "wood and cultural products industries." According to the report, the number of members of this union has increased by about 130,000 to more than 840,000 since 1972. Among the members are more than 240,000 women and slightly fewer than 180,000 young people. The degree of organization of all employees under the IG Bau-Holz jurisdiction is today 94.9. (In 1972 it was 91.4 percent.)

The report attributes the increase in membership to "an expression of increased confidence by builders and workers of the wood and cultural products industry in the FDGB [Free German Labor Union Federation], in its active work toward fulfilling its main task in its unity of economic and social policy."

During the winter union elections 1976/77, slightly fewer than 36,000 union groups were formed, about 10,000 more than during the elections in 1972. At the present time, there are union administrations in more than 3,500 basic organizations.

As a "result of the political-ideological education work by administration and managements" income from membership dues increased by more than 42 percent since 1972. The total amount of dues is not mentioned in the report.

There are detailed accounts of social and material improvements for union members which are based on the social and wage policy measures enacted by the GDR leadership last May. About 15 percent of the employees in the wood and cultural products industries, and about 5 percent of the employees in the construction industry are benefitting from the increase of the monthly
minimum gross salary to M400, and the differentiated increase of the monthly gross salaries up to M500. Beginning 1 May of this year, the work week for about 113,000 employees of the construction and construction materials industries and for 22,000 employees of the wood and cultural products industries will be reduced to 40 to 42 hours.

According to the union accounting the average work income for full-time workers and employees in the construction industry rose from M830 in 1970 to M949 in 1975. In the construction materials industry the monthly work income rose during the same time span from M773 to M912. In the enterprises of the wood and cultural products industries (e.g., furniture, toys, musical instruments) where the average income was about M649 in 1970, it was M828 5 years later.

The report makes it clear that work production has in the past 5 years increased considerably in comparison with average wages. The following survey gives the details:

Construction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work Productivity in percent</th>
<th>Average Wages in percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>105.7</td>
<td>101.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>126.3</td>
<td>111.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Centrally Administered Building Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work Productivity in percent</th>
<th>Average Wages in percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>105.6</td>
<td>100.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>128.4</td>
<td>109.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the review special mention is made of the participation by employees of the IG Bau-Holz in the innovators' movement. In 1976 more than 200,000 employees took part in it, among them more than 120,000 production workers. This means that every fourth employee was a so-called innovator. The gain for the national economy from the innovators' movement for 1976 is estimated to amount to M475 million in construction and to M70 million in the wood and cultural products industry. In the construction industry the percentage of participation in the innovators' movement rose from 17.9 percent in 1971 to 28.4 percent in 1976.

The 5-year accounting states that "of great importance in the solution of national economy problems were youth projects in the building industry as well as in the wood and cultural products industry." In 1972 there were 1,666 youth projects, and in 1976 about 37,000 young people were involved in 3,520 youth projects.
The most important youth projects within the jurisdiction of the IG Bau-Holz are:

"Druzhba-Trasse" (natural gas pipeline in the USSR);
"FDJ [Free German Youth] Initiative Berlin," cooperative work in rebuilding and enlarging East Berlin;
"Ceiling Assembly Line" in the VEB apartment building combine, Berlin, with the goal of producing annually ceiling components for 5,000 apartments.

For the improvement of material working conditions of the employees of the IG Bau-Holz about M400 million were spent in 1976 (1972: M200 million).

Since 1972 about 40 percent of all construction workers have participated in expansion and addition building projects so that skilled workers' participation rose to 68 percent by 1976. In the wood and cultural products industry, skilled workers' participation amounts to 38.1 percent at the present time.
EXPATRIATE AUTHOR KUNZE INTERVIEWED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Apr 77 p 21 DW

[Text] Reiner Kunze, the author who was expatriated last week from the "GDR" and who left for the Federal Republic, on Monday gave an interview to the Munich television feature "Report" the text of which we are carrying. Kunze's discussion partner was Klaus Stephan.

[Question] Mr Kunze, what are the reasons why you and your family left the GDR?

Kunze: The first reason was my health. No GDR physician advised me to leave the GDR. But the physicians indicated to me that they are helpless if I will continue to face situations I have been facing in past weeks, months, years and decades. One of them said that we cannot hook you on to the infusion bottle every 6 weeks. I was hooked on to the bottle more and more often. This was the first reason why I had to go. As an author I cannot write against my conscience and so I have no choice whether I want to face that situation or not.

The second reason: In 1974 I had a talk on highest state level. When nothing worked in this talk, neither praise nor an attempt of bribery nor being called a hysterical and pathological case--they wanted me to do something which I could not--my discussion partner told me, "Then I cannot help you, either, and you will not survive the situation you will be facing now." These threats increased so much lately that we no more could assess the difference between words and deeds.

Even the smallest functionary felt that he had to speak in such terms. An example: Mr Herzog, the cultural representative of Greiz Kreis, said at the opening of an exhibition of a young graphic artist: "This looks like an illustration of Kunze, it will open your jackknife in your pocket." A functionary who had backed me in public--such things existed, too--was called to the state security organization and told: "This man--meaning me--hangs on a silk string, and how and when we will cut him off is just a matter of time and opportunity. We advise you urgently not to hang yourself on that string too."
Permit me to add the following. Some of these gentlemen maintain: Now we have frightened that Kunze sufficiently and he has left. This is not it, on the contrary, it is different. I do not want to survive my wife necessarily. My wife, a physician, has been suffering endlessly in this situation. She feared for me for years, and she would have broken down. But I have nothing more precious on this earth than my wife, and this is why we have left the GDR.

[Question] After all, you have told me I must ask you the question why you have not left earlier. The answer—which you should give—probably was that it would have been difficult for you. Was it difficult for you to leave?

Kunze: We feel extremely sorry about the many good people we have left behind. We are feeling sorry about our old parents. And we must not even think of our closest friends. But we are constantly thinking of them. But we do not feel sorry about everything else. From there—and I do not mean the direction, the East, I do not mean the state area of the GDR, and I do not mean the areas of the other states in this hemisphere—what I mean is the really existing social system, from there comes no new beginning for man, not from there.

[Question] Mr Kunze, it must be assumed that more people are living, and probably suffering, in the spiritual situation in which you had been in the GDR. What do you tell these people?

Kunze: All I can tell them is how we lived there. Earth and people—not all of them—are beautiful everywhere, and it is necessary to indicate to each other who belongs to whom, it is necessary to help one another make compromise where it is necessary, so as to preserve the human substance, and not to make any compromise where it would touch upon the substance. It is necessary to help one another keep the spirit up, to try to gain an insight into the things that transpire in the world’s intellectual life and to appreciate the wonders of this world. After all, we are so rich in these marvels left to us already by the people who lived before us in music, for instance, and also in painting. And we should open our eyes to the miracles of nature, help each other open the eyes to perceive of these miracles what the eye can take up.

[Question] This sounds as though you did not live in reality there. But reality began for you at least at the moment when you resigned from the SED after the march of the Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia.

Kunze: It began much earlier, in 1959, when I left the university after I had arrived at point zero, namely, when I had realized that all that mattered was enforcing the principle even if in disregard for man. Man is not what matters. What matters is the principle, and the name of that principle is power.
[Question] Mr Kunze, what are your plans for the future? You are an emigrant even though you have stayed in the area of your own tongue.

Kunze: No. I do not feel as an emigrant. First of all, we will try to achieve that we will not even get the feeling of being in a foreign country here. We have been accommodated by friends. We will try very hard to find a job for my wife and housing for us. Then, if possible--I do not know whether we will be able to afford that financially--we will rest for 4 weeks to improve our health. Then nothing will be heard of me for a very long time. I have often been told: you must write books at intervals of about 2 years so that you will stay in the public's awareness. What matters to a writer is not to be noted in public but to write books. And my friends in the GDR should not be irritated if nothing is heard of me. A paper wrote yesterday: Kunze has resigned. No. We have ventured this beginning for the very reason of not having to resign.

CSO: 2300
BRIEFS

NEW MILITARY DISTRICT COMMANDER--Horst Skerra (SED), Major General of the National People's Army, became the new commander of Military District III (Leipzig), one of the three military districts of the GDR into which the GDR ground forces are divided. Skerra replaced Lieutenant General Heins Handke (SED). So far nothing has been announced concerning Handke's future assignment. Horst Skerra, born in East Prussia in 1930 as the son of a farm worker, worked as a tractor operator in the area of Koeningsberg after the war. Later he was a miner in the Geiseltal lignite district near Halle/Saale. In August 1949 Skerra attended the People's Police School in Naumburg. As an officer of the Garrisoned People's Police in 1956--after the formation of the NVA--he was accepted into the People's Army. In Moscow he graduated from the Frunze Academy and from the Soviet General Staff Academy. From 1967 to 1970 Skerra was the commander of a motorized rifle division in Potsdam. Thereafter he became the chief of staff of a military district. He has held the rank of an NVA major general since 1967. [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 7, Mar 77 p 16]

TANZANIAN NATIONAL DAY--A state telegram from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to Dr Julius K. Nyerere, chairman of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party and president of the United Republic of Tanzania, reads in part: "On the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the founding of the United Republic of Tanzania I convey to you and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR." On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers sent congratulations to Aboud Jumbe Mwinyi, first vice president of Tanzania and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar, and to Edward Sokoine, prime minister of Tanzania. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Apr 77 p 2 AU]
HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN DAILY ON FORMS OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Apr 77 p 9 AU

[Article by Tamás Palos: "The Logic of Helsinki"]

[Text] Is it natural for the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism not to diminish, but to continue and even intensify simultaneously with the unfolding of political detente? Can we be simultaneously partners and adversaries of the capitalist countries? Such questions and others of a similar nature are often heard today, since the world political situation provides ample reason for pondering this topic.

We do not have to answer the second question, as life provides the answer for us. We could observe that the socialist countries have developed extensive political, economic, scientific and cultural contacts with capitalist countries and that realistically thinking and acting capitalist countries, too, have pressed for a mutually beneficial relationship as partners. On neither side was the development of cooperation detrimental—it could not have been—to fundamental class interests, both sides carried out the joint work while upholding their principles, and thus will they carry it out in the future as well. Since the concepts of socialism and capitalism are irreconcilably in a struggle with one another, struggle and cooperation manifest themselves lastingly in the competition of the two world systems. Thus we are simultaneously partners and adversaries of one another.

As for the interrelationship between detente and the ideological struggle, we can regard it as natural that political detente has not brought an end to the struggle between the different social systems, for the antagonism between them is unsolvable, since one represents the interests of the working class and the other the interests of the bourgeoisie. However, the forms of the struggle change through peaceful coexistence, since it becomes possible to avoid war. Instead of the military battleground, the struggle manifests itself in other areas. Thus, for instance, the ideological struggle comes to the fore. Peaceful contacts create more favorable conditions for the concept and practice of socialism to make an even stronger impact on public opinion in capitalist countries. The monopoly capitalists strive to take advantage
of extensive contacts between the two world systems to create illusions on capitalism and spread the bourgeois ideology. And all this leads to a strengthening and, in some places, sharpening of the ideological struggle and an expansion of its scale—in the era of political detente as well.

Still, it is not at all natural that, degraded to ideological subversion, the ideological struggle should become an obstacle to normal relations between states, since what is then involved is not a struggle between ideas, but an attack against peaceful coexistence, a cold-war sortie in an ideological guise. The socialist countries accept the ideological struggle, but they reject political mischief-making cloaked in its guise. They endeavor to develop their relations with the capitalist countries on a principled basis, that is, to insure that the expansion of cooperation should not lead to ideological compromises. At the same time, they intend to wage the ideological struggle so as to insure that it fosters sound interstate relations, since a consistent struggle against fascist, warlike and racist ideas is, at the same time, a contribution of strengthening fruitful and mutually beneficial relations conducive to progress.

When does a country pass the boundary beyond which its propaganda activity comes into conflict with the interests of peace, security and cooperation? When it ignores the norms of peaceful coexistence, the principles that must prevail in its relations—if it intends to develop them—with other countries. Nobody expects the bourgeoisie to voluntarily refrain from disseminating its ideas, or from criticizing socialism, for that matter. However, what is expected is that the bourgeoisie respects the fundamental principles it has itself accepted when it carries state responsibility.

In Helsinki, at the European security and cooperation conference, both the socialist and the capitalist countries signed the document in which they affirmed "their commitment to peace, security and justice and the development of friendly relations and cooperation." They acknowledged that, as a result of past experiences, this commitment reflecting the interests and aspirations of peoples "imposes, now and in the future, an increased responsibility on all participating countries." Whether their contacts with the capitalist world are in the area of politics, the economy or ideology, the socialist countries act with this responsibility and adhere to the principles guiding relations between countries with different social systems, expecting their capitalist partners to do the same.

Thus, when they speak out against the current propaganda campaign by extremist imperialist circles in Budapest, Prague, Moscow, Warsaw and other socialist capitals, they, in fact, question adherence to these guiding principles. This was proven, among other things, by the March Sofia conference of the socialist countries' fraternal parties, whose participants—central committee secretaries dealing with ideological and foreign issues—criticized the previously-mentioned campaign because it is at variance with the letter and spirit of the final document of the European security and cooperation conference and because its organizers are intervening in the socialist countries' domestic affairs.
To be sure, however, nonintervention in domestic affairs is a fundamental requirement for peaceful coexistence. Let there be no mistake: Also in this instance, we do not regard the clash of ideals and views or propaganda concentrated against the socialist countries themselves as an intervention, but the fact that, through the means of ideological undermining activities, they try to thwart the course of matters that concern only individual countries. Yet, it was written with the pens of 35 countries at Finnlandia House that countries must not intervene in any manner—not directly, nor indirectly, not individually, nor collectively—"in domestic or foreign affairs within the legal competence of another country."

By the same token, also the demand is justified that every country should respect the sovereignty of the others and their rights arising from it. On this basis, there is broad scope for mutual information and a clash of ideas. This means that peaceful coexistence and the ideological struggle are consistent with one another as long as the latter does not hamper a country's right—"as is laid down in the Helsinki Final Document—"to determine its laws and state administrative rules for itself."

The equality and right of self-determination of peoples cannot be disregarded in the ideological struggle, either. It follows from this that any people's right to accomplish its political, economic, social and cultural development at its own discretion must not be infringed upon through propaganda means, either.

Nonintervention, sovereignty, self-determination, equality—these are universally recognized principles and rules of international law. And countries cannot live in peace and security without a well-intentioned fulfillment of legal obligations. This, too, was set forth in Helsinki.

The ideological struggle, living up to its mission, is waged for positive objectives. Among other things, it takes up the cudgels for adherence to human rights and fundamental rights of freedom. It does not help at all. Indeed, it harms the process of détente, is, under the pretext of the ideological struggle, freedom is "demanded" for the adversaries of socialism, progress, détente and peace and if the merits of socialism and the sins of capitalism in insuring a genuine exercise of human rights remain unsaid. The international ideological struggle will in all probability continue to strengthen also in the future. However, the opponents of détente must not be permitted to poison the international situation while hiding behind its screen. Even amid the clash of ideas, the socialist countries do not lose sight of the fact—and they call the attention of the capitalist countries to this as well—that cooperation between countries is inconceivable without mutual understanding and trust.

A frequent Western response to this is that there is a difference between politics and information. And we can only reply to that: This was not the view of governments at the European Security and Cooperation Conference. Their top-ranking politicians set down in writing that also the expansion
of information must contribute to strengthening peace and understanding among peoples. They dealt also with information in the chapter of the final document, the introductory part of which states: "Cooperation must be accomplished while fully respecting the guiding principles of relations among countries."

This is the implacable logic of Helsinki.

CSO: 2500
The participants in the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments have taken leave of Vienna to begin a 3-week spring recess. The twelfth round of the talks, underway for the fourth year, on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe will begin on 9 May.

During the eleventh round, which closed at the end of last week, the two sides had the first substantive talks on the size of armed forces, following the fact that first the socialist countries and then the NATO countries furnished figures on the complement of troops in the area of reduction. The mutual disclosure of figures initiated by the NATO countries backfired like a boomerang at the propaganda of the Western countries and confirmed the soundness of the position adopted by the socialist countries at the Vienna talks.

At the Vienna talks, the NATO countries' representatives have been striving all along to gain one-sided military advantages on the basis of the propaganda myth that the Warsaw Pact countries possess a military superiority over the NATO countries. The figures submitted by representatives of the two sides at the Vienna talks convincingly prove that there is a military equilibrium in Europe and that, as far as the size of the armed forces is concerned, there are approximately equal forces present.

Western leaders have more than once admitted the equality of the forces concentrated in central Europe. In London not so long ago, at the end of January, FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and British Prime Minister Callaghan spoke of the fact that a military equilibrium, similar to the previous one, prevails between the Soviet Union and the West and that there is nothing to support fear or pessimism. We can refer also to West German Defense Minister George Leber, who concluded at the end of last December that "the joint potential of the NATO armed forces is equal to the corresponding potential of the Warsaw Pact countries."
Starting out from the substantive discussions that have taken place on the size of the armed forces, it would be desirable for an elaboration of an agreement to begin at last on a reduction of armed forces at the twelfth round beginning early in May. A primary prerequisite for this is that the NATO countries should at last abandon their endeavor to obtain one-sided military advantages and accept the socialist proposals on a reduction of armaments as well. European public opinion is aware of the importance of moving the Vienna talks out of its impasse. Succeeding in this would demonstrate in practice that countries with different social systems are capable of averting a military conflict.
"NEPSZABADSAG" MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF KARLOVY VARY CONFERENCE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Apr 77 p 2 AU

[Article by Ferenc Varnai: "A Decade Ago"]

[Text] "The peoples of Europe are capable of resolving issues of the peace and security of our continent themselves. Thus, let them take the destiny of Europe into their own hands!" These are the words concluding the declaration of the 24 European communist and workers parties which assembled in Karlovy Vary 10 years ago today to call upon the peoples of the continent to struggle against war. They did so on a continent where any armed conflict threatened to become a total nuclear catastrophe.

In the spring of 1967, at the time of the conference, the cold war was facing a crucial moment, but had not yet ended. The United States had not yet reached a sound understanding of reality and the FRG Government continued to act in a revanchist spirit, claiming to be representing Germany as a whole, and tried to obtain thermonuclear weapons.

The communist parties assembled and acting in concert in Karlovy Vary deserve credit for recognizing, in spite of all this, the historical moment when the shift in the balance of power made it possible for the peoples of Europe to pit themselves, with hope of success, against the policy of the cold war and aggression. They understood that if they broke through the cold-war front on the most endangered continent this would exert a positive impact on the entire world situation and usher in an alleviation of international tension.

The 24 European communist and workers parties drafted a militant program. This program envisaged creating a Europe of mutual trust, devoid of military blocs and the arms race, abolishing the use of force, resolving disputed issues by peaceful means, recognizing the inviolability of the existing European borders, including the Oder-Neisse border and the border between the two German states, and the existence of the GDR as a state, and declaring the Munich Treaty as null and void. It proposed abolishing the barriers artificially created and fruitful cooperation in economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries and convening a conference of all European countries.
Recalling this program, all adherents to peace can be rightly proud of how many of the envisaged tasks have been successfully accomplished. The peoples can live with more self-assurance and greater belief in the future in Europe, while capitalism is convulsed with renewed crises in the economy, in politics and in ideology alike. This is manifest also in the turnabout which, in three countries of southern Europe—in Portugal, Greece and Spain—condemned fascism to failure and created a situation enabling communist parties to function legally in all these countries.

All this proves once more: The homogeneous attitude and concerted action of the communist parties, the most organized force of our continent, is capable of influencing the course of history. It is all the more necessary to call this lesson to mind, since the historical document endorsed in Helsinki has not become a firm norm of European relations as yet and the adherents to the cold war and anti-communism are trying to reverse detente and are attempting to halt also the process of a concise formulation in which it can be said that West Europe, too, is tending to the left. And for this process to continue and for Europe to be a secure haven for people and the scene of the fulfillment of their hopes, it is necessary for the communist parties of the socialist and capitalist parts of the continent to act shoulder to shoulder, in firm unity.

A decade ago, the representatives of the parties assembled in Karlovy Vary made their appeal to the communists and all supporters of socialism in the spirit of the half-century jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution, inspired by the turning point in the destiny of mankind. These parties and the rest of the adherents to socialism and peace are preparing to celebrate its 60th anniversary. The ideals of this revolution are imparting a new impetus to the struggle waged for security on the entire continent and to the struggle pursued for social progress in West Europe. Karlovy Vary is an outstanding milestone in the history of the European communist movement.
ZSMP AKTIV CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON WORK DISCIPLINE OF YOUTH

Commentary on Meeting

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 27 Feb 77 p 2

[Article by Tomasz Persidok: "No Room for Mediocrity"]

[Text] At the national conference of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] Worker Aktiv many pronouncements addressed the subject of the necessity to combat vigorously the negative phenomena among the youth. There was talk about lack of respect for work, lack of integrity, cynicism and the cult of easy living with little effort. No doubt, these are the phenomena and attitudes present only at the fringe of the young generation, but they are so visible in every group, community and place of employment that they become a subject of special concern for the youth organization. While noticing everything which is positive and which is negative in the young generation, one must realize that the good and the evil are not contiguous but are separated by a vast area of mediocrity, indifference and lack of ambition.

Passivity, indifference, mere biological existence and simultaneous, often ostentatiously paraded, social estrangement are not, to be honest, an exclusive domain of youth, but these things should have nothing to do with youth. Speaking at the above-mentioned conference, Comrade Edward Gierek said:

"You young people are characterized by special sensitivity to human matters and a strong, emotional protest against anything offensive to human dignity and the principles of socialism. This is a great strength which our party needs now and will need even more often in the future. We still encounter many phenomena which are evil and disconcerting. Some of them are inherited from the past and some are the manifestations of difficulties in adjusting our customs and attitudes to the requirements of new times."

Let us not be ashamed to state clearly and bluntly that in our everyday preoccupation with production in our praiseworthy search for tangible effects of our work, we sometime fail in our private lives and organizational activities to reflect on the ethical and moral profile of the young Pole in the late seventies, that in effect we fail to reflect on ourselves.
Of course, one of the most important criteria for evaluating a man is to consider his attitude to work. Good work is derived from and is a manifestation of high morality; or we can go even further and say that good work is the manifestation of socialistic patriotism and of close ties with the society.

It happens often, however, that next to honest, hard working people who value their work, stand some goldbrickers at the machines who follow the principle that the best day is a day through which they manage to live by exerting the least effort, expending as little energy as possible. They do not care about the quality of a product sent down from their work station, because in a moment someone else will worry about that trifle and later it will be assembled with other parts and will be dispatched "to Poland" which, in the "reject-maker's" mind, means that it will vanish into nothingness. This is another illustration of the well-known saying "socialized, meaning nobody's."

But again, between the reject-making and the solid work there is room for mediocrity devoid of ambition. This does not result in rejects, but neither does it leave an impression of ingenuity, good organization, efficiency or productivity. Expending as little effort as possible, being concerned only how to endure "from - to," they pass their 7 or 8 hours without identifying themselves with their place of employment, or their shift, or even with their brigade which consists of their closest workmates. They do "just what they are paid for." They leave the rest to the suckers.

In my opinion, such attitude toward work should be condemned no less than shoddy work. It is necessary to fight against mediocrity, especially among the young workers whose passivity reflects negatively on the good name of a concerned and creative generation.

The attitude to work, however, is the product of other traits of a young man, traits which are acquired at home, in school and in the youth organization. A person who otherwise behaves with dignity and honesty, will not have a lackadaisical attitude toward work. For this reason we must care how many among us are cynics and liars, and for how many the race to acquire material possessions obliterates the need to develop character at the same time and the need to behave in accordance with the socialist ethical norms. It is not a private matter that somebody believes in the principle of goldbricking and work avoidance, just as bad manners, arrogance and lack of respect for others are not private matters. Also, as Comrade Edward Gierek emphasized during the aktiv conference, "the cynical indifference to public matters" is not a private business because, in effect, it is against the society.

That there exist among the youth truly disconcerting phenomena--phenomena which are the manifestations of, let us be frank, improper upbringing and demoralization--is demonstrated by a letter to the editor from a young man in Leszno who urgently asks for advice. That teenager's problem is that in a few days he will have to make a decision regarding his professional orientation because he is finishing primary school. He requests that the editor furnish him without delay a list of 15 (yes, 15) professions in which he can earn 5,000 zlotys regardless of his character, experience and effort.
Obviously, the deformed mentality of that teenager has not come from nowhere. He was exposed to his parents' efforts in child upbringing, to school and, perhaps, to scouting. And it is not important to what degree he is typical in his attitude to the world, what is important is that he certainly represents a certain type of attitude which can be found among people of any age and in any environment.

The quality of our life is determined not only by the material things. It is influenced to a great extent by the ambience of human relations, and those are directly tied to the moral value of the man and to the ability to unite that which is private to that which is social, common to all.

When we talk about an ideal personality for a young Pole to emulate, we stress such character traits as uncompromising attitude to negative behavior from the fringes of the society, persistence in criticism and civil courage in defense of just causes. These character traits are very important, even if it is accepted that sometimes it is not criticism that is rewarded but quiet acquiescence, not an uncompromising attitude but submission— even if it is accepted that it is more convenient to be a yes-man who avoids conflicts, a procrastinator or a conformist. We have met and will meet people who by their word and deed advocate the easy way and, consequently, mediocrity and withdrawal. We ought to be able to recognize such "apostles," and our best argument against them is our satisfaction with results achieved through our involvement and fighting spirit.

In the socialist society there must not be a division into ethical and moral matters on the one hand and ideology and politics on the other; just as there must be no division of people into those who have the will and can do and those who are concerned only in what is due to them from the society. We wish to achieve a great deal in the fields of science, technology and industry; and we wish to have more things in our homes and on the store shelves. It is clear, however, that all this depends on high moral demands which we set for everybody, and above all for ourselves.

Trebaczkiewicz Speech

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 20 Feb 77 p 5

[Excerpts from Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz speech: "In the Vanguard of the Builders of Socialist Poland"]

[Text] For 6 years we have been marching on the road of accelerated socio-economic development. We can see how the power of our country and the position of our homeland grow in the world. Now we believe in our capabilities, that a Pole "can do." We are proud of our achievements. They form the base for further dynamic development of socialist building; they point to the prosperous prospects for our homeland and they provide exceptional opportunities for us, the young people. We give our thanks to our party.
We have drawn the conclusion from the resolutions of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee that to benefit fully from our economic potential and to multiply it fast and effectively we must work still better and in a more modern manner. For that purpose, immediately after the Fifth Plenary Session, we started throughout the Union the general discussion on the subject of participation of the youth in the implementation of the resolutions. The point is that everybody should know his tasks, be convinced of their importance and feel responsible for the achievement of national goals. This discussion resulted in undertaking specific commitments to improve the quality of goods produced, to decrease the consumption of materials, fuels and energy, which are in short supply, and to use better both human and machine working time. Under the slogan "The Youth Civic Program" we have appealed to all the Polish youth to undertake additional, personal commitments where they work, study or live. An example of the new initiatives was given by the Tournament of the Young Masters of Organization which was started in the Gdańsk and Elblag voivodships and which proposes competition in the fields directly related to improvements of efficiency, organization and discipline. Today, this initiative finds imitators in many establishments around the country.

Significant educational and economic effects are produced by the tournaments of Young Masters of Economy and Young Masters of Technology. Last year, the participants in those tournaments added to the national economy over 10 billion zlotys in the form of material, raw material and energy savings, additional production and inventive technical and technological solutions.

A competition initiated by us: "Polish Means Perfect" is underway in over 870 establishments.

Being proud of achievements produced by the best, we are often too tolerant of our fellow workers who work badly, who do not care about their duties and who are satisfied with mediocre results.

We do not always react with enough firmness to simple waste of social goods and working time. Almost every day the mass media, TRYBUNA LUDU and SZTANDAR MLODYCH, cite examples of establishments producing plain junk. Every news item of this kind should be discussed at circle meetings. At the initiative of our collectives, definite measures must be undertaken to improve the situation. We must be self-critical and state that we still have not mastered the high fluctuation of the cadre, especially among the young workers. The reviews of jobs and qualifications of the youth, organized by us, indicate that still many obstacles must be overcome by the newly employed at the time of the beginning of a professional career. Employment which does not match the qualifications is but one of them. The trek with papers to obtain various, often unnecessary, stamps has not been shortened very much.

The working contacts, the confidence shown in the man and a just but exacting evaluation produce work consciousness, give birth to the respect for work and professional pride, and they release the deeper, idealistic incentives to work.
It is primarily the master's task to assure the proper climate in the workers collectives and to be interested in the men and their professional development. For several years we have been selecting the best masters and youth educators. We know how many skills and traits of character a good master must have, one who is devoted to the cause of education of young workers. To these functions we are assigning our best activists!

The importance of correct work with the young cadre is pointed out by the experience gained at the largest construction jobs. The initiatives undertaken now in the Katowice Ironworks, in copper mines, in the Dolna Odra and Koziernice electric powerplants and in many other places prove that the main support task is to assemble highly qualified crews and to use our initiatives to help the efforts which serve to bring the new projects to their full production capability on time.

The type of our activity which effectively accelerates production is to use our broad contacts with the organizations of cooperating establishments. This makes possible timely deliveries of important machines and equipment. We must further develop such tightly knit cooperation, especially in the establishments producing for the domestic market and for exports, and also in those working for the food industry and residential housing.

The last years proved that the society can always count on the devoted effort of the ZSMP members in military uniforms. The help provided by the Polish People's Army in the implementation of important economic and investment tasks, in industry, in transport and in agriculture is an example of patriotic involvement, excellent organization and high quality of work.

Since 1971, 25,000 apartments have been built by various kinds of youth effort for almost 100,000 young people, about as many as inhabitants of a sizeable city.

Despite several reports about new youth initiatives, we encountered recently serious difficulties in further growth of youth efforts. We understand that in view of the outstanding tasks being implemented by specialized construction enterprises, it is necessary to create within them such organizational conditions which would permit full utilization and integration of all our proposals to broaden the work front using the social resources of the young. The effects to date and the scale of the existing needs give us a strong incentive to be persistent and keep requesting that the state authorities sanction as soon as possible the new principles of repayment by work for costs of apartments and the functioning of the youth construction material pool.

Under the circumstances of occasional construction material shortages, a youth bank of construction materials and equipment (from the stocks in excess of the plan) must be the essential base for our efforts.
The Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee emphasized the nationwide character of the tasks related to the realization of the agricultural development and national nutrition program. The extent and the effects of the last year program "Each Ear of Corn Is Worth Its Weight in Gold" demonstrated new possibilities for developing common activities by the city and country working youth, such as organizing workers field brigades, helping with agricultural machine and equipment repairs and accelerating the progress of investments in the country and in the agricultural and food industry.

Let us consider together in our plant and township organizations how, on the basis of achievements of the ZMP [Polish Youth Union] town and country liaison brigades, we can under the present conditions organize better and more effectively the practical help for the country and the agriculture. There is the need for new and widespread initiatives in this field.

The new requirements and the augmented tasks forced us to do a thorough evaluation of the tasks being undertaken and to prepare an up-to-date version of the program "Youth for Progress." Its main feature is the emphasis on efficiency, and the quality, organization and discipline of work. We are striving to focus all social initiatives of the youth on the most important tasks of the current five-year plan period.

The scale and the character of tasks we are discussing today indicate the need to do a more effective job in the field of ideological education in the whole Polish youth movement. We are undertaking this task together with the Polish Socialist Student Union and the Polish Scout Union; we feel that this task embraces the basic purpose of our federation. We must attempt to extend the educational influence of our unions to reach all youth, to inculcate more effectively respect for work among the young, the sense of responsibility for the quality of work, and personal integrity in performing professional and social duties and in studies and military service.

We have created our Union to meet the desires of the youth themselves, to work better for the country, to accelerate the socialist changes, to eradicate the old differences between town and country and to form the new, socialist equality among the working people. These are great generational tasks which require not only enthusiasm at the start but daily persistence in their realization.

The rich, patriotic and international traditions of our nation provide us the examples of sacrifice and courage in action. A daring and ambitious program demands strong men, men who are persistent and not afraid of difficulties. The Polish Workers Party formulated such a program 35 years ago. In the forefront of those who implemented that program were the members of the Union of Young Fighters and later of the ZMP. They gave us the unforgettable example of patriotic involvement in the work for the fatherland.
The program which we are now realizing in Poland under the leadership of the party is universally known as the program of great opportunity for our generation. Whatever we achieve now by our common effort will serve primarily ourselves. Being conscious of this fact must mobilize our efforts and must spur us to action. When we join the ZSMP, we accept additional commitment to excel in work, to be always faithful to our party and to be aggressive in carrying out the party program.

Till today we have people at home and abroad who act from openly anti-socialist positions and want to subvert our achievements, to weaken the moral and ideological unity of the nation, to sow confusion and doubt and to question the leading role of the party in our society. They are the false defenders of our rights who, to settle their own grudges, do not hesitate to fraternize with the enemies of our state and nation and who slander our fatherland and provide the nourishment for the antisocialist and anti-Polish activities conducted by the imperialist centers of diversion. They particularly count on the youths' lack of political experience. For this reason, we must aggressively unmask the political and moral face of the enemies of socialism, oppose the weak and undecided attitudes, the rumors and kibitzing from the sidelines and actively advocate the correctness of the road we are following. We must form now the attitudes and emotions of people, that is, we must act in such a manner that they will react correctly in difficult situations and that they will identify themselves with the party program not only in words but also in a profound, thoughtful and active manner.

Our sharing of responsibility for Poland and her development is measured also by our steadfastness and fighting spirit in the war against evil, negligence and selfishness, against futile actions and working just for show. Nothing can replace the human criticism, sensitivity and courage in the struggle for full realization of socialist social ideals in our life and in strengthening the correct interpersonal relations where we work and live. We must develop among the young respect for the family, parents and older persons, and we must fight even more effectively against such negative phenomena as alcoholism and parasitic life styles.

To share the responsibility for Poland is not only an honor for us, the young; it is also something which demands everyday honesty in discharging our duties and courage to act at times when it is not easy.

Let us excel at work! Let us be more effective in forming the socialist consciousness among the young! Let us strengthen our ties with the party! Let us focus our actions around the party program! Let us prove that the young shift of the working class will measure up to the tasks imposed on it and that the members of the ZSMP will provide the example to the young generation how to perform patriotic duties to the socialist fatherland.
"TRYBUNA LUDU" CALLS FOR EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT TALKS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Apr 77 p 2 AU

[Commentary by Ryszard Drecki: "For an Effective Session"]

[Text] Yesterday we published a document presenting our government's position on calling a special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament problems. If we look for the guiding theme in the Polish statement, it can be found in the concern that the planned session should be effective and optimally fruitful.

Poland, which has long supported the inclusion of all states in the efforts to solve the main task of modern times, supported the Soviet proposal to call a world disarmament conference as the best and most universal forum which could make decisions and recommendations as to the entire range of disarmament problems. Because of the delays in preparing for such a conference, resulting from the attitude of some powers, Poland supported the initiative of the nonaligned countries to call a special session of the General Assembly in the meantime. It is now a matter of conducting this session in such a way as to achieve--as the statement of the Polish People's Republic's puts it--"a decisive progress towards putting a brake on the arms race and towards universal and complete disarmament."

It is with the thought about this goal that Poland supports a discussion at this session of a broad program of the main directions of activity, encompassing on the one hand measures leading to a universal and complete disarmament and on the other regional or partial solutions, both as regards mass destruction weapons and conventional weapons. Such a program, without discounting the discussion of new problems, should naturally be a continuation of the efforts made thus far and respect the already existing disarmament talks mechanisms.

The proposal that the political declaration approved by the special session should contain a sort of catalog of principles for disarmament talks has important significance. Among such principles, the principle of not harming the security of any country and the inadmissibility of unilateral military advantages are placed in the forefront. Acceptance of such a "code
of regulations" could greatly improve the effectiveness of any disarmament talks.

The proposed agenda for the special session includes, among other things, the point concerning the world disarmament conference. The postulate included in the Polish statement of determining the duration of the conference and of accepting the recommendations concerning its work fully corresponds to the premise that the purpose and advisability of the special session consists, among other things, of it becoming a step on the path toward a world conference.

It is also worth drawing attention to some postulates of a formal character, which have, however, profound political importance. The proposal that decisions be taken through general agreement (the so-called consensus) should be regarded as the only possibility in this case for assuring that the sessions' decisions have both the proper authority as well as a chance of being implemented.

There is no doubt that acceptance of the suggestions contained in the statement by the government of the Polish People's Republic would help the disarmament session of the United Nations to put the disarmament efforts onto a stage of seeking global solutions and to create a platform for effective work in this direction in the future.

The concrete and constructive nature of these proposals define Poland's position not only as regards the planned special session of the United Nations General Assembly. It also is another proof that the struggle to stop the arms race and start disarmament remains invariably one of the priority aims of our policy in the international arena.

CSO: 2600
SITUATION OF DISSIDENTS DIFFICULT TO ASSESS

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Apr 77 p 5 DW

[Dispatch signed V. M.]

[Text] Vienna, 28 Apr--It has been learned from Bucharest now that the Congress of the Romanian Writers Association, which was to open in the middle of this week, has been postponed for an indefinite period, no reason having been stated. It has further been learned that a general assembly of the Bucharest Section of the Writers Association had been held a few days ago at which, by all appearances, discussions took place on the current campaign of the regime against dissidents in general and writer Paul Goma in particular. Goma is still under arrest, and the cultural functionaries pursue his expulsion from the association.

A few days ago a statement of Goma became known which he had composed prior to his arrest and which he had slated for publication in the event of his arrest. In this statement he declares that he neither plans actions against the security of the state or for the overthrow of the regime, nor that he has undertaken any such action, that he does not feel guilty in any way, that he will go on hunger strike in the event of his arrest, and that all alleged "confessions" to the contrary of his present statement should be regarded as extorted or fabricated.

Obviously the Romanian writers and intellectuals are currently being put under pressure not to maintain any contacts with Western newsmen or diplomats. This is why it is difficult to gain a precise idea about current events. But it seems as though this involves a comprehensive, nationwide action against all beginnings of intellectual or political dissidence. Obviously under duress some of the signatories to Goma's petition, such as the two literary critics Negoitescu and Montenau, have retracted their signatures and their statements made at the time. For the first time in many years political arrests are made and intellectuals even physically maltreated by the political police for their utterances.

Meanwhile, objections seem to be raised against such measures within the regime itself since Romania might be placed on the same level with
Czechoslovakia if these measures would become better known abroad. Besides, there are objections because of the forthcoming Belgrade follow-up conference to Helsinki and because, in connection with the last earthquake, strong sympathy with Romania had been voiced everywhere which should not be spoiled again.

The Baptists have appeared in Romania as the second center of dissatisfaction with prevalent conditions. In an "open letter" they protested in March against the disregard for religious and civil rights. When the letter was read by Radio Free Europe as per the demand of the signatories themselves, most of the initiators were arrested, some of them in the middle of religious services.

Of a temporary nature proved to be those cases in which persons willing to emigrate, especially from among the German minority, had been prevented from emigrating at the last moment even though they had all papers. Reportedly considerable irregularities in the issuance of passports had been discovered in the Hermannstadt (Sibiu) police directorate. The number of people being granted exit permits continues to be greater than that of the whole past 3 or 4 years.

CSO: 2300
BRIEFS

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT--Since one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Prahova County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 72 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Dinu is delegated to carry out the function of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Prahova County. [Excerpt] Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 29, 9 Apr 77 p 3

CSO: 2700
WORK STOPPAGES, DISSATISFACTION AT PULA SHIPYARD PROBED

Josip Lazaric, until recently mayor of Pula, was right when he told us on another occasion, "The whole commune trembles at the slightest bump at Uljanik." The opstina president went on to say that this shipbuilding firm accounted for almost half of the earnings in the economy of Istria's largest city.

Perhaps this is why the curiosity of readers of daily newspapers was aroused by the recent statement by a trade-union official to the effect that 1,200 Uljanik workers had filed complaints against the system governing the distribution of personal incomes, simultaneously expressing dissatisfaction through so-called local strikes in the collective.

The news item implied the possibility of an explosive situation in the 6,000-strong working organization, with Uljanik about to abandon its new system of distribution ("ordered from a specialized institution and paid for") in search of new solutions.

"We Are Not Renouncing the System"

The nonexistence of an organized strike in the traditional sense of the term at Uljanik is the best evidence, according to our hosts, that such a conclusion is erroneous and surely not comprehensive enough for drawing conclusions about the causes and consequences of the unrest at the dry docks of Pula. Our collocutors—Anton Uzila, president of the conference of trade unions; Ratko Crnobori, who is in charge of personnel matters; and Ivan Rakic, the official in charge of the distribution of personal incomes—are also a little angry at the imprecise and inaccurate formulations reported in a debate that made the rounds of the country via the newspapers.

"Between July of 1972 and the beginning of 1974," says Rakic, "approximately 700 complaints were filed at Uljanik, chiefly over basic wage scales, involving 1,200 workers. Since we had opted for solving problems in distribution on the job, the appeals procedure lasted not the usual bureaucratic
15 days but a whole 18 months. During that interval, we corrected the original determinations for almost 4,000 workers. In other words, we credited additional points to many workers who had not filed written objections with the distribution committees."

In this context, Ratko Crnobori wanted to tell us about "work stoppages": "The working people of Uljanik wanted to be more fully informed about the distribution system. They requested and received explanations, pinpointed certain illogicalities, warned of possible unfavorable effects from the proposed solutions, etc. Managerial personnel always responded to a call to come to a meeting in a working unit or shop. Meetings were held during working hours at times. Only in that sense was work interrupted from time to time. The machines may have stopped more than 30 times, but never for longer than an hour and a half."

Anton Uzila was categorical: "We do not wish to renounce the system of distribution, by which—for the first time since 1969, when we noticed that personal incomes were bursting the bounds and becoming uncontrolled magnitudes—we have essentially put things in order, determined the complexity of every job, and made initial steps in the direction of applying the principles and criteria on which the Law on Associated Labor insists."

No "Pig in a Poke"

The Pula shipbuilders, who had seen efforts to review and evaluate all jobs at particular work stations fail, attempted 8 years ago to solve this pressing issue in cooperation with some scientific institution.

The Labor Productivity Bureau of Zagreb was not interested, according to our informants, but the comparable institution in Ljubljana offered its services. A nine-person team was formed (eight of them representing Uljanik), headed by Robert Ogorevc, a graduate economist at the Labor Productivity Bureau of Slovenia, author of a well-known book on evaluating labor and an expert who has been studying the distribution of personal incomes for a quarter of a century.

It is worth mentioning that this top expert has been involved in drafting criteria for evaluating labor at October Fourteenth of Krusevac, Bratstvo of Travnik, TAM of Maribor, the Split shipyard, and the port of Kopar. He is currently working on a similar task for the May Third shipyard at Rijeka. When he learned from the press that the Uljanik system had failed, he raced to Pula worried but found that the opposite was the case. He parted from the people at Uljanik with a promise to sit down again soon to see "how far we have come, inasmuch as no system is cast in cement, it lives, works, undergoes changes."

"After 3 months of training," Rakic emphasizes, "our team worked with Ogorevc for a whole year to describe jobs and tasks at all work stations. We described 1,800 types of work stations, talked with people, and obtained valuable knowledge about the complexity of jobs, responsibilities, and other elements vital to the evaluation of the basic contribution of individuals.
Now, for example, an electronic computer can provide us with reliable data in just 3 minutes concerning trends in personal incomes in relation to the skill structure of the labor force, as well as a variety of other useful statistics.

The Ljubljana bureau was paid 650,000 new dinars for its services, largely of an advisory nature, but the shipbuilders do not consider this to be an excessive price at all for introducing scientific procedures into practice, for an appraisal of the actual contributions of individuals to common earnings.

"We did not buy a pig in a poke," says Uzila justly. "We paid for work done to be able to provide the essentials for more successful job evaluations." Incidentally, since the question of money has arisen, let us mention that the reports prepared for the merger of Zagreb fitting firms cost roughly 10 times as much.

Occasions for Interference

When the system went into high gear in February of 1972, the carriers began cracking. A wave of complaints and indignation, more out of misunderstanding than dissatisfaction, began splashing over the docks. The loudest were the people at nonproduction work stations, i.e., those who do not work under norms (40 percent of this large collective). Resistance came to the surface. Some individuals simply could not reconcile themselves to the idea that their jobs were less valuable and less complex than they had expected. They were overvaluing their own work.

Our collocutors cited an example of the inconsistency with which some persons may have sought the highest possible so-called fixed portion of their pay. A factory administrator, who had been an opstina-level trade-union official for many years, was dissatisfied with his own point score and therefore called the distribution system an act that was contrary to self-management. He sought interference on the part of Mato Ujevic, who was president of the republic-level trade union of this branch of the economy at the time. The complainer was notified not too discreetly to "avoid bothering the collective about his personal interests."

Another occasion for interference by responsible officials outside the working organization was provided by the welders' group petition to the social self-management defender of the Pula opstina. The appeal was not upheld, as it happens, but this "case" may provide the most comprehensive insight into the substance of past misunderstandings at the Uljanik yards.

The seemingly complicated distribution process at Uljanik involves essentially four distinctive categories as a gauge for the monthly pay packet for each person. It is superfluous to recall, at least at this point, that all these documents passed through the self-managing procedure
and that the proposed solutions were reported to the workers in good time. Let us add that the system, via the usual routes, won the support of workers' assemblies and sociopolitical structures.

People Before the Commission

Opting for the variant calling for the fixed portion of personal income (on the basis of the aforementioned scientific analyses) to amount to 60 percent instead of the previous one-third, the shipbuilders chose "surpassing norms" as the second indicator, followed by "estimated achievement" at nonproduction work stations and finally (the smallest proportion of earnings) various types of income, including compensation for past labor.

"We are aware that quite a bit of troublesome work yet awaits us in devising elements to measure the value of individual contributions," Uzila emphasizes, "but we are now in a position to build on secure foundations and mould the facade."

The reference is presumably to demands for payment for the quality of work done instead of a simple calculation of norms exceeded, for the replacement of commissions for "estimating achievement" (13 to 23 percent of monthly personal incomes) by more objective measures of effort and the effectiveness of each person, etc.

"Commissions decide on every individual," Crnobori remarks, "on the basis of a proposal by the manager in charge of the basic organization of associated labor. There is a noticeable effort to avoid offending, as well as instances of 'You scratch my back today and I'll scratch yours tomorrow.' In other words, while adhering to the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor and respecting the rule that there is no such thing as unmeasurable labor, we must institute criteria in distribution that will promote the just evaluation of everyone's overall contribution to the creation of joint income."

During our stay on the docks at Pula, we learned that personal incomes under this system have doubled and that last year's figure of 4,570 dinars—despite weaknesses in distribution—put Uljanik at the top of the ladder so far as paychecks for shipbuilders in Yugoslavia are concerned. The traditional ratio has been retained: a skilled worker always earns at least 5 percent more than the office worker with secondary-school specialized training.

"We Support Creative Unrest"

Desirous of a broader view of the issues and the way out of the dilemma in connection with the distribution of personal incomes in the shipbuilding industry, we asked for a definition of priority tasks in this area from president Milenko Maksimovic of the trade union conference at Jadranbrod, an association of working organizations with more than 30,000 employees on maritime and river docks.
Maksimovic attained his present position 2 years ago after 15 years of experience with developing socioeconomic and self-managing relations at Uljanik.

"Frankly," he said, "we are not satisfied with the present system of distribution, which is not in accord with the requirements of the Law on Associated Labor, which demands solutions that will provide an incentive for workers to improve results in production and efficiency in operations. True, a noticeable step forward has been made in the larger collectives. However, we cannot accept hesitation when radical undertakings are required in individual distribution."

In his opinion, the basic weakness in existing documents governing distribution is the "neglect of parameters that would encourage the individual to be more efficient," along with the related "dragging of the best workers down to the level of the average."

"In analyzing the causes of dissatisfaction and resistance in connection with the introduction of new relations in distribution," Maksimovic added, "we must observe that the previous transparent calm was broken when it became clear that everybody's work was going to have to be evaluated. Accordingly, the trade union supports dissatisfaction that leads to progress. This is also the desire of the great majority of workers, who hold—as do we—that you shouldn't go off bravely into further research, so that is why they raised their voices."

He precisely formulated and answered this question: what is the role of scientific institutions in giving shape to distribution models in associated labor?

"Within the framework of the trade union at Jadranbrod," he said, "a working group has been constituted to coordinate these matters, standardize solutions, propose the foundations for the issues in distribution. We shall understandably cooperate with specialized establishments and make use of their services according to our needs, but only in the sense of an exchange of knowledge and experience, never in the sense of ordering and paying for complete projects and programs."

This is also the view of director Hubo Polajner of the Labor Productivity Bureau of Slovenia, who adds that he is "not informed about dissatisfaction and reactions on the part of shipbuilders in Pula" and that this respected scientific institution has been cooperating for 8 years with various organizations from all parts of Yugoslavia in connection with the introduction of distribution systems.

Polajner also told us this: "We worked out the distribution projects for almost all members of Jadranbrod, naturally in close cooperation with representatives of the collectives. I am not aware of a single complaint about the job that we did together."
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